

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

USIA-15 CAB-09 COME-00 DOTE-00 EB-11 FAA-00 DRC-01

/110 W

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P R 290911Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1898

AMEMBASSY MANILA PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASS KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC

COMUSTDC

S E C R E T TAIPEI 3347

NOFORN

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

EO 11652 GDS

TAGS PFOR TW RP

SUBJECT: ROC-GOP RELATIONS

REFS A) MANILA 6136 B) TAIPEI 3346 NOTAL C) TAIPEI 3195 NOTAL

D) TAIPEI 2981 NOTAL E) TAIPEI 2776 NOTAL F) TAIPEI 2676 NOTAL

1. SUMMARY: NEITHER SENIOR ROC LEADERS' STATEMENTS TO  
AMBASSADOR NOR STANCE IN JAPAN CIVAIR DISPUTE SHOULD BE TAKEN,  
AT THIS POINT IN TIME, AS FORESHADOWING COMPLETE GROC IN-  
FLEXIBILITY IN THE FACE OF PHILIPPINES MOVEMENT TOWARD ESTABLISH-  
MENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH PEKING. GROC IS

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DEEPLY CONCERNED AND WILL DO WHAT IT CAN TO HEAD PHILS

OFF (INCLUDING ATTEMPTS TO INVOLVE USG). BUT IT ALSO HAS LARGE CONTINUING INTEREST IN MAINTAINING RELATIONSHIPS WITH GOP AND POLICY TOWARD THE PHILIPPINES MAY SUFFER LESS FROM SPECIAL FACTORS THAT LED TO BREAK IN CIVAIR RELATIONS WITH JAPAN. WE CAUTION AGAINST GIVING OUR ESTIMATE OF SITUATION TO GOP SINCE DOING SO WOULD UNDERCUT GROC BARGAINING POSITION AND UNHELPFULLY INVOLVE US IN INTERMEDIARY ROLE. END SUMMARY.

2. WE HAVE REPEATED TO EMBASSY MANILA REFS D (COMMENTING ON OVERALL ROC FOREIGN POLICY FLEXIBILITY IN LIGHT OF THE JAPAN CIVAIR CONTROVERSY) AND E (REPORTING CONVERSATION IN WHICH SENIOR MOFA OFFICIAL ASKED US ASSISTANCE IN PERSUADING MALAYSIANS TO MAINTAIN INFORMAL TIES WITH GROC).

3. REFS B AND C REPORT AMBASSADOR'S CONVERSATIONS WITH SENIOR GROC OFFICIALS, INCLUDING PREMIER, ON GOP-ROC RELATIONS. THEY CLEARLY EVIDENCE DEEP CONCERN AND FOREBODING WHICH WHICH DEVELOPING PHILIPPINE SITUATION IS SEEN HERE. BUT THESE STATEMENTS OF CONCERN AND INITIAL BARGAINING STANCE SHOULD NOT BE SEEN AS INDICATING AT THIS POINT IN TIME GROC'S FINAL POSITION.

4. IN ALMOST ALL INSTANCES WHERE GROC FORMERLY ENJOYED COMPLEX OF RELATIONSHIPS, GRC HAS TRIED, FOLLOWING BREAK IN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, TO MAINTAIN UNOFFICIAL GOVT CONTACTS ALONG WITH TRADE, CULTURAL AND INFORMATIONAL TIES. IT HAS BEEN QUITE FLEXIBLE AS TO MODALITIES OF MAINTAINING THERE RELATIONSHIPS, WORKING THROUGH TRADE OR OTHER OFFICES WHEN POSSIBLE, AND THROUGH -PRIVATE- OR "PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE" ORGANIZATIONS WHEN NECESSARY. AS REF E POINTS OUT, THIS IS CURRENT OBJECTIVE WITH RESPECT TO MALAYSIA.

5. SUPERFICIALLY, JAPAN CIVAIR BREAK SEEMS TO POINT TO CONTRARY TREND. OUR ANALYSIS, HOWEVER (REFS D AND F), IS THAT UNCOMPROMISING STAND TAKEN IN THAT INSTANCE WAS RESULT OF SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES AND DOES NOT CONNOTE OVERALL ABANDONMENT OF TACTICAL FLEXIBILITY. GROC RELATIONS WITH JAPAN ARE GREATLY HAMPERED BY STRONG EMOTIONAL BIASES, FRUSTRATION FROM ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE, TEMPTATION TO

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MEDDLE IN INTERNAL JAPANESE POLITICS, AND RELATIVE LACK (ON BOTH SIDES) OF PERCEPTIVE INTERPRETERS OF LOCAL SCENE. MOREOVER, DESPITE CIVAIR BREAK, GROC STILL HAS WEBB OF SEMI-OFFICIAL CONTACTS WITH JAPAN WHICH IT RECOGNIZES TO BE HIGHLY IMPORTANT.

6. THIS DOES NOT MEAN GROC WILL "GRACEFULLY" ACCEPT THE INEVITABLE AS ROMULO PROFESSES TO HOPE (REF A),

AND THERE IS NO PARTICULAR LOGIC TO HIS EXPECTATION SINCE, AS FAR AS WE KNOW, GOP AS YET HAS OFFERED NO FORMULA WHICH MIGHT HELP MEET GROC'S KEY CONCERNS-- BEING MUCH THE SAME AS PARA 5 REF A LISTS AS BEING THOSE OF GOP. GROC WILL CONTINUE CONCERTED EFFORTS TO STOP GOP SHORT OF RECOGNIZING PEKING, INCLUDING MAXIMUM USE OF OVERSEAS CHIESE COMMUNITY AND FRIENDLY FILIPINOS, AS WELL AS CONTINUED EFFORTS TO ENLIST USG SUPPORT. IF AND WHEN IT BECOMES APPARENT PHILS ARE NOT TO BE DETERRED, GROC WILL BARGAIN VERY HARD AS TO SPECIFIC MODALITIES OF CONTINUING ASSOCIATON. IT WILL BE PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT OVERSEAS CHINESE POPULATION AND KMT ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE IN PHILIPPINES, TO WHICH IT HAS DEVOTED VERY CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION OVER THE YEARS.

7. WE URGE THAT THIS ESTIMATE NOT (RPT NOT) BE COMMUNICATED TO GP. TO DO SO WOULD UNDERCUT GROC BARGAINING POSITION AND INVOLVE US IN INTERMEDIARY ROLE WHICH IS UNLIKELY EITHER TO BENEFIT USG OR CONTRIBUTE TO SOLUTION OF PROBLEM. UNGER

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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** CIVIL AVIATION, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, AVIATION AGREEMENTS, NEGOTIATIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 29 MAY 1974  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
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**TAGS:** PFOR, TW, RP  
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